

Message Text

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PAGE 01 PARIS 29779 01 OF 02 111814Z

47

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SWF-01 AID-05 CEA-01

COME-00 EB-07 FRB-01 CIEP-01 STR-01 TRSE-00 LAB-04

SIL-01 SAM-01 OMB-01 FEAE-00 SAJ-01 IO-10 /084 W

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O P 111803Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5067

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 29779

BRUSSELS FOR THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR EEC FR

SUBJECT: EC SUMMIT: AN INITIAL ANALYSIS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF EUROPEAN UNION, THE DANGER PRESENTED BY THE ATMOSPHERE LEADING UP TO THE SUMMIT WAS NOT THAT IT MIGHT FAIL TO PRODUCE MAJOR RESULTS, BUT THAT IT MIGHT PRODUCE NEXT TO NOTHING, THUS UNDERLINING A DEEP EUROPEAN DISUNITY. THE MOOD OF INCREASED OPTIMISM WE AND OTHERS REPORTED IN THE
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 PARIS 29779 01 OF 02 111814Z

DAYS JUST BEFORE THE SUMMIT (PARIS 29347) SEEMS TO HAVE

BEEN REFLECTED AT THE SUMMIT, AND THE RESULTS--IN DECLARATORY POLICY--EXCEEDED EVEN MOST OPTIMISTS' EXPECTATIONS. THE SENSE OF SATISFACTION THAT THIS IS LIKELY TO GENERATE IN EUROPE WILL DISSIPATE, HOWEVER, IF THE HIGH RHETORIC OF THE COMMUNIQUE IS NOT TRANSLATED INTO ACTION. AT BEST, THIS SUMMIT STAVED OFF THE FURTHER DISINTEGRATION OF EUROPE. THE REAL TASK OF CONSTRUCTING EUROPE IS HARDLY OUT OF NEUTRAL GEAR. END SUMMARY.

2. INSTANT ANALYSIS OF MAJOR EVENTS IS A RISKY BUSINESS AT BEST. WHEN IT INVOLVES THE ACTIONS AND MOTIVATIONS OF NINE EUROPEAN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT IT IS RENDERED EVEN MORE HAZARDOUS. THE FULL MEASURE OF THE DECEMBER 9-L0 GIVE AND TAKE AT THE EC SUMMIT WILL ONLY BECOME CLEAR AS THE PARTICIPANTS SHARE THEIR OWN PERCEPTIONS WITH OTHERS, AND AS THE POSSIBLE MEANINGS OF THE SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE ARE TESTED AGAINST FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS, INCLUDING THE FRANCO-AMERICAN SUMMIT.

3. NEVERTHELESS, WE CAN BEGIN TO DRAW SOME INITIAL CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE SUMMIT. FIRST, IT SEEMS TO HAVE PRODUCED MORE TANGIBLE RESULTS THAN OBSERVERS WOULD HAVE EXPECTED AS RECENTLY AS TWO WEEKS AGO. CLEARLY, THE SCHMIDT/WILSON/GISCARD CHEMISTRY WORKED TO CLEAR THE WAY FOR PROGRESS ON THE REGIONAL FUND AND UK RENEGOTIATION. WHAT REMAINS OBSCURE IS EXACTLY WHAT SCHMIDT RECEIVED FOR HIS EFFORTS TO HELP RECONCILE PARIS AND LONDON. THE OBVIOUS PART OF THE ANSWER IS THAT SCHMIDT HELPED TO INSURE THAT THE RESULTS OF THIS EC SUMMIT WOULD NOT FURTHER ERODE THE GOAL OF A UNITED EUROPE. WHAT IS NOT CLEAR IN PARIS IS THE EXTENT TO WHICH SCHMIDT MAY ALSO EXPECT A PAYOFF FROM GISCARD IN TERMS OF CLOSER FRENCH COOPERATION WITH THE IEA. THE MARTINIQUE SUMMIT SHOULD ILLUMINATE THIS DIMENSION.

SECOND, THE TANGIBLE INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS OFFER THE POSSIBILITY OF A MORE EFFICIENT, MORE DEMOCRATIC AND LESS RIGOROUSLY FORMAL APPROACH TO CONSTRUCTING A UNITED (IF CONFEDERAL) EUROPE. BUT THE REAL TEST OF THE COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE IN THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL, MAJORITY

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PAGE 03 PARIS 29779 01 OF 02 111814Z

VOTING, AND PARLIAMENTARY CHANGES WILL BE IN ITS APPLICATION. IN PARIS, WE WILL LOOK FOR MORE PRECISE SIGNS WHETHER THIS RHETORIC REPRESENTS A GENUINE WILLINGNESS BY GISCARD TO ACCEPT TRANSFER OF FRANCE'S SOVEREIGNTY.

THIRD, WE ARE STRUCK BY THE DEGREE OF CONSENSUS THAT WAS ACHIEVED ON "CONVERGENCE OF ECONOMIC POLICIES," PARTICULARLY THE EMPHASIS ON STIMULATING DOMESTIC DEMAND

AND MAINTAINING HIGH EMPLOYMENT. COUPLING THIS WITH AN
INDIRECT--BUT CLEAR--CONDEMNATION OF PROTECTIONIST
MEASURES SURELY REFLECTS A CLASSIC GERMAN/FRANCO TRADE-
OFF WHICH, AGAIN, WILL SHOW ITS REAL MEANING IN PRACTICE
OVER COMING MONTHS.

FOURTH, ON ENERGY IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT GISCARD
FOUND HIS ALLIES UNWILLING TO SEE THE COMMUNIQUE DECLARE
ITS SUPPORT FOR THE FRENCH TRIPARTITE CONFERENCE.
GISCARD WILL NOT COME TO MARTINIQUE WITH EC-NINE AGREE-
MENT TO THE FRENCH VISION OF A CONSUMER/PRODUCER/THIRD
WORLD CONFERENCE IN HIS POCKET. THIS DOES NOT MEAN,

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PAGE 01 PARIS 29779 02 OF 02 111812Z

47

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 29779

HOWEVER, THAT THE EC-EIGHT WOULD NOT LIKE TO SEE A COMPROMISE INCORPORATING ELEMENTS OF THE US AND GOF INITIATIVES ON ENERGY.

FINALLY, THE LAST FOUR PARAGRAPHS OF THE COMMUNIQUE OPEN THE WAY TO RESOLVING THE UK PROBLEM WITH ITS SHARE OF THE EC BUDGET BURDEN. IN THIS, TOO, ONLY TIME WILL TELL WHETHER THE EC NINE POLITICAL WILL REALLY EXISTS TO TRANSLATE THE PROMISE OF THE COMMUNIQUE INTO THE HARD COMPROMISES THAT EACH SIDE MUST MAKE TO RESOLVE THIS
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PAGE 02 PARIS 29779 02 OF 02 111812Z

PROBLEM. ON BALANCE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE FRENCH ARE PREPARED TODAY TO WORK MORE EARNESTLY THAN IN THE PAST TOWARD A PRAGMATIC COMPROMISE SOLUTION. WE CANNOT PREDICT WITH CONFIDENCE HOW LONG THIS ATTITUDE WILL PREVAIL. A KEY ELEMENT IN ITS LONGEVITY, HOWEVER, WILL BE THE DEGREE TO WHICH WILSON IS PREPARED TO DROP HIS NEUTRALITY AND PROVIDE REAL LEADERSHIP TO THOSE BRITISH FORCES THAT SUPPORT CONTINUED UK MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC.

4. BY SEPTTEL, WE WILL COMMENT ON THE SEVERAL REFERENCES TO THE US IN THE COMMUNIQUE.

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